42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Isneg expressions referring to names and worthy of notice are the following:

kalóbazán: a name that has the same ending as another one. *Magkalóbān*: to bear each a name with the same ending. For instance: *Balás, Kolás; Éba, Xawwá; Basán, Dawwán; Antóniyo, Asiyo*, etc.

isán and *ébāy*: familiar diminutive names for girls in general. Similar names are: in Iloko, *inin*; in Ibanag, *néne-* (probably from the Spanish *nene*, "baby, whether boy or girl").

Nicknames, as applied to one particular person, are used very sparingly among the Isneg. I know of only one case: a Lettuakan boy, called *Asiyo* and baptized Pedro, is very generally called *Paláli* even by his own relatives. *Paláli* is the name of a tree, and also of its fruits, which are edible, but very sour.

The Isneg are not very good genealogists. It very often happens that a young man or an adult girl does not even know the name of one or more of their grandparents, especially if the latter died before their grandchild was born. When asked about such names, the Isneg who happens not to know them usually excuses his ignorance by saying: "*Akkáńko nasińán* (I did not see him or her)".

II. Education

It might be thought at first sight that the Isneg leads a very unhappy and miserable life, a life full of drudgery, a life devoid of all comforts and possessing only a minimum of pleasure. But when you come to consider him more intimately, to enter more deeply into the matter, it does not take long for you to be convinced of the contrary. Indeed, he has very few needs; it is comparatively easy, to quote Jerome K. Jerome in "Three Men in a Boat", for an Isneg "to have enough to eat and enough to wear, and a little more than enough to drink", and he has little work to do. Besides, look at the fine family life he is living: if he has a good diligent wife, and most Isneg women are like that, and plenty of children around, really his bliss exceeds all understanding, I mean the understanding of a Caucasian with his manifold cares and innumerable wants.

Again at first sight, it might seem that the children's education is reduced to the very minimum, or rather that the youngsters get no education at all, as everybody, not excepting the children, seems to shift for himself and to do as he pleases. One would be the more inclined to think so when comparing the Isneg with other primitive

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

peoples, who have regular initiation ceremonies or puberty rites or both: in his case these are entirely absent, and so his offspring lacks a very important factor in the education of the young, as all formal instruction that usually accompanies such rites and ceremonies is entirely denied him. Nevertheless there is some kind of education given to Isneg youth, and this I am going to consider presently.

At the beginning it should be noted once for all that the Isneg is not used to divide his life into very definite periods. Possessing no puberty rites of any kind, he is ignorant of any violent transition between any two periods of his earthly existence, and so an Isneg child grows up into a young man (*bagbaxó*, plural *babbáxo*) or a young girl (*balbalásań*, plural *babbalásań*), marries at the first opportunity, is occasionally widowed (*bálo*, *búkud*) and perhaps remarries, and finally dies, whether comparatively young or after having reached a ripe old age (old man: *la-lakáy*, plural *lala-lákáy*; old woman: *ba-bakát*, plural *baba-bákat*). If one would insist on looking for a kind of classification, perhaps the best way would be to divide the life of an ordinary Isneg into three periods: the first one, from his birth till he has attained the age at which any decent boy begins to wear a G-string, a little before the age of reason; the second, from the time of that important change in his dress till his marriage; and the last one, from his first marriage till his death. Here I shall consider only the first two periods, and I shall treat them both simultaneously and indistinctively. That some details refer exclusively to one of these two periods will be clear without the necessity of saying so: an Isneg evidently does not teach one of his marriageable girls the name of the mosquito, nor does he point out to a boy three years old the penalties which he is likely to incur if he renders a girl pregnant and refuses to marry her.

Formal education as we understand it, whether in schools or otherwise, through appointed teachers, is totally unknown to the Isneg, except of course instruction in Government public schools, which all Isneg children are compelled to attend; but the generality of the people are not the least convinced of the benefits, and much less of the necessity, of the sort of education they get there, especially with reference to girls.

I shall try now to trace as faithfully and as clearly as possible the process of education as followed by the Isneg, or, if such an expression seems to be too definite, the way in which Isneg boys and girls get the education they need.

42: Vanoverbergh F-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao CA5
Isneg

question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found 515

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same. 264 515 862

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw. 514 863 177

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife. 356 863

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisndg*. *Bisndg* is very popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it. Among the Isneg, not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisndg* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better. 524 857 865 865 201 861

Bisndg certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisndg* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the agent for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient. 524 865

42 Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

462 I: "Of course, why shouldn't you:"

He: "But I never did that; I do not know anything about it."

I: "That is very easy though; and you are not too old to learn. Can you not do like this?" [Here I mimicked the action of a woman who makes holes in the ground for planting the seeds].

He: "Wouldn't that be funny. Have you ever seen a man doing a woman's work?"

I: "I do not see anything funny about it, if you need to do so in order to live."

He: "No, sir, that is not our business; that is woman's work; without a woman we can do nothing. I cannot help it, but that is the custom. Woman's work for a woman, man's work for a man."

856 It is also a fact that boys help their father and girls their mother as soon as they are able to do so. No sooner have they gained the
• 861 required strength but they will be given some necessary implement in
[868] order to learn its use. Very often, especially in the case of the headax (*aliwa*) of men, which is of universal use and serves almost any purpose, the instrument at first will be a small or light one, provided it serves the purpose, to be superseded later on by a heavier one of the same nature. Whereas a child usually accompanies, first its mother, and later on one of its parents according to its sex, it is but natural that it should also offer them its help, as soon as it has gained sufficient strength. Although at first the help may be very slight and insignificant, the Isneg does not lose sight of the fact that this early exercise and practice will be of great benefit to the child, and that in the end it will accrue to his own advantage.

861 Imitative types of play are very little practised, as may be deduced from the above: the children very soon have to do the real thing, why should they occupy themselves with imitations? Nevertheless it may happen that they imitate in play a certain work which is still beyond their strength: so I have seen little Isneg girls playing at pounding and winnowing rice, with sand for rice, a small hole in the ground for a mortar, a stick for a pestle, and some large leaf for a winnow;
[524] but these are exceptions, and not at all frequent ones. Incidentally it may be mentioned that dolls are unknown to our little Isneg maidens; a real child will be thrust upon them as soon as they are able to carry it.

462 And now as to the sundry occupations of the Isneg.

241 An Isneg is a farmer above anything else, so no wonder that agriculture is not only his chief pursuit, but also that which is taught

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which
558 to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also
578 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg. For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; nevertheless they are far from having the same power as shame, and parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive.
[461] The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child, and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently. In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the following paragraphs.

3. Methods of Training

361 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference
867 to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall
[881] go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Not only the absence of initiation ceremonies, but even that of any customs that might aim to teach or mold moral conduct, as dieting, fasting and so on, is a great drawback to the efficient training of Isneg youth. I repeat it, young people are taught to avoid hardship much more than to get inured to it, and this seemingly has much to do with keeping our Isneg in habitual indolence, and rendering them easily dejected at the smallest difficulty or the slightest pain.

Here now I shall enumerate the virtues and acts of virtue that are formally taught according to the Isneg moral code, and those that are less formally taught, and shall give a few supplementary details. It should be stated once for all that all, or almost all, training in this line is done directly; I mean that the Isneg rarely, if ever, use stories or fables in order to inculcate the principles that regulate moral conduct. Some of their tales might perhaps have such a very desirable effect, but the generality have not, and I really wonder if, even in the case of those that have a kind of moral attached to them, the Isneg really use them for the purpose of teaching right behavior. The tales seem to be much more a means of teaching the youngsters the traditions of the race, especially with reference to spirits and kindred subjects, and very often also they are simply a pastime for people who have few means of diversion and amusement.

The teaching of religious practices has been explained at length in a preceding paragraph, and here I have nothing to add on that subject. Headhunting as a duty has rarely been taught ex professo: all the traditions of the people and the paramount importance of this custom in the life of an Isneg tended formerly to impress it very strongly upon the mind of the child. Actually of course the taking of heads, which is fast disappearing, has no more the same appeal to the members of the younger generation; so this part of the Isneg moral code is bound to lapse sooner or later, provided the Government can keep the people in control for a sufficiently long period of time. This is what happened with the Ibaloy, among whom by this time headhunting is an unknown quantity, and with the Kankanay, among whom the same custom is almost completely rooted out.

Obedience and respect for their elders is very formally taught to the children, not only by father and mother, but also by other members of the older generation. Besides small boys and girls learn by practical experience the necessity of obeying and respecting their elders, as it is not a rare occurrence to see a whipping follow in the wake of a transgression of this most important duty of a child.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

867 577 Honesty and truthfulness are subjects of very frequent training, especially the latter. Rarely a day passes without hearing some denunciation of the vice of lying from the mouth of an Isneg, and children are really brought up in an atmosphere of honesty and truth: this cannot be denied, although a lie in their eyes has not exactly the same meaning as with us. A lie, as defined by an Isneg, would mean something like this: "uselessly to tell an untruth to a friend", in this way excluding from its definition the telling of an untruth in order to avoid difficulties or in order to save a friend, and the deception practised on the Ibanag and their kindred.

An Isneg child is deterred from boasting mostly through ridicule, while talebearing, which is called treason, and jealousy form less frequent subjects of teaching.

Youngsters have not to be taught *ex professo* that killing among friends is a terrible crime. Loyalty to friends and related subjects are sufficiently explained without the necessity of including such a hateful crime among the usual prohibitions: if you have to be loyal to your friends, your first duty of course is to respect their life.

861 867 626 I have been talking freely about Isneg training and teaching, but when and where is youth educated and instructed in the tenets of the moral code? Well, at any time. This is a very indefinite answer indeed, but the time and place of teaching is at least equally indefinite. An Isneg parent may instruct his offspring when at home, he may do so while at work in the field; Isneg know nothing about school periods, no bells are used among them in order to go over from one exercise to another, there are neither watches nor clocks in Isneg houses, and to an Isneg time is not money. Nevertheless formal training mostly coincides with some special happening; a breach of the moral code, whether committed by outsiders or by the children themselves, or some extraordinary act of virtue, are the most frequent occasions in which the precepts of Isneg morality are instilled into the minds of the young.

861 626 Scolding,—which in many cases is exceedingly severe and covers the culprit with shame in the face of the whole neighborhood,—and other punishments are frequently resorted to regulate the conduct of children. Corporal punishments take place only in the case of the smaller children, while the fear of being scolded is a frequent deterrent for boys and girls of every age. The former consist in slapping the head, the cheeks, the shoulders, the back or the buttocks, in whipping the buttocks or the legs, thighs and calves, in twisting

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

or pulling the ears, in pinching any part of the body. There is no question of kicking, of forbidding to eat, of ordering to abstain from amusements or feasts. A punishment that is rather common among the Isneg is to shame the children by talking to others about their misbehavior or their bad conduct: such a punishment rarely fails to induce the child to amend its ways. Food taboos are very common with reference to women; for men I know none. Thus, women do not eat eels, lest they become blind; they abstain from dog meat, monkey, etc.; but the aim of these prohibitions is certainly not that of influencing their moral conduct or inuring them to hardship: so this is not the place to explain them any further.

Corporal punishments are almost always used when the child, whether a boy or a girl, is caught stealing or lying; it is occasionally resorted to when the child is disobedient or disrespectful. Other more severe punishments, such as the robbing of valuables, divorce, etc., have been sufficiently explained in the preceding pages. Scolding is of course much more frequent than any other punishment. Spare the rod, spoil the child, is a proverb unknown to the Isneg; in my opinion they use the rod very sparingly: it is often sufficient for a child to say: "*Maddiyâ-* (I do not want)", to be left undisturbed, and to cause the parent to refrain from any further insistence. Here I have to repeat again one of my former statements: it is not the guilt that counts, but the result; so a boy may refuse to obey, and if it really makes no difference, the parent allows him to do what he likes; but if he has stolen something or refuses to help his father, that is another question; here the power of the rod will be invoked almost without exception.

Isneg parents love their children very much, and the easiest way to break down an Isneg parent's stubbornness or aloofness is to show a smiling face to the little ones, to say a nice word to them or to give them a little present. The aim of every grown-up boy and girl is to beget children; his offspring is the Isneg's most precious treasure. A houseful of boys and girls, children and grandchildren, is an invaluable and most esteemed boon; they are a crown avidly coveted by every Isneg man and woman. An Isneg father has a thousand ways of showing his affection to his children: if they are still small he will play with them for hours at a time; later on he will patiently forbear the boy's unhandiness while he is helping him at work, and still later he will see to it that he grows up a virtuous young man. The mother will do the same with boys and girls alike until the time

252 412 [415] then hulls it by pounding it with a wooden pestle in a mortar fashioned of a two-foot section of a hardwood log, set on end and hollowed out. The woman then winnows it by cleverly tossing it in an oval-shaped tray woven of rattan. There will often be a set of these mortars with the women companionably pounding together, using a sort of chant.

593 854 [842] The relatives are affectionate, and family ties are strong all through life. The family life is a happy one. Babies are much desired and receive a great deal of loving care. Their wants are promptly supplied, and no little one cries its heart out for lack 524 857 of a mother's loving arms. The small girls do not have dolls to play with but use the babies instead. Also, instead of little play houses, they early begin to play house by helping their mothers in the big houses. Many of the small chores about the house are done by the children. But they also have plenty of time for games, [868] swimming, and other amusements. As they grow older, the girls, of course, follow the work of the mother: housework, washing, taking care of the pigs and chickens, carrying water in jars on their heads from the spring, farming, and other duties. The boys cheerfully work with their fathers in gathering wood, building houses, granaries, chicken coops, bamboo fences, etc., and in fishing and hunting. They early learn the lore of the woods; so that a boy of seven here can take much better care of himself in the open than the average Eagle Boy Scout in the United States. [861] The children are taught a proper decorum; but corporal punishment is rare. A little scolding usually keeps them in order.